

Report of the
Cumberland Excavation Committee,
1896.

By F HAVERFIELD, M A , F S A

[Reprinted from Vol XIV of the Transactions of the Cumberland
and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society]

KENDAL
PRINTED BY T WILSON, 28, HIGHGATE
1897

ART. XXII.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee*, 1896. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.*
Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE excavations which were carried on during last August under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society had three objects: To examine the Vallum for evidence of date, to trace some of the Roman roads near the Wall, and to search for any further remains of the Turf Wall found at Appletree in 1895. The work was most seriously hindered by bad weather, and the results obtained are in one or two details incomplete, but they are nevertheless of first-rate importance. Last year we were able to say that the discovery of the Turf Wall was one of the most considerable discoveries made along the wall for some years: this year our discoveries with respect to the Vallum are no less remarkable. The excavations, this year and last, have signally justified themselves. It may be convenient to summarise the results here.

I. An examination of the Vallum on the west and south sides of Birdoswald shewed that those who constructed it deviated from the straight line normally followed, and turned to pass round the south face of the fort. In other words, evidence was obtained that the fort is at least as old as the Vallum. Similar evidence was obtained at Carrawbrough, in Northumberland, and a new fact was thus revealed which had been entirely unsuspected before, and which makes it probable (as is argued below) that the Stone Wall, forts, and Vallum are of the same age. The result is worth emphasising, because it is too often for-

* For the Reports of 1894-95, see these *Transactions*, xiii. 453, xiv. 185.

gotten that hitherto our explanations of the Vallum have been little more than guesswork, based on observations of the surface to some extent, but almost wholly devoid of definite proof.

2-3. Two roads were examined. The so-called Maiden Way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was found to be indubitably Roman work, but its alleged continuation into Scotland, as marked on the Ordnance Maps, appeared to be a fiction. Another "Roman" road, supposed to run south of the Vallum in Cumberland mainly through the parishes of Brampton and Irthington, also failed to stand the test of the spade.

4. No trace of the Turf Wall could be detected, except in the neighbourhood of where it was found in 1895, that is, between Appletree and Birdoswald. Appletree remains, therefore, the only place where it is known to exist.

As before, the excavations were greatly aided by the kindness of landowners and farmers, who gave all necessary permissions with readiness. The Society is especially indebted to the Earl of Carlisle for leave to dig at many points on his estates and for a supply of skilled labour, to Mr. Oswald Norman for leave to dig at Birdoswald, and to Sir Richard Graham of Netherby (through his agent, Mr. J. J. Bowman,) for leave to trace the alleged course of the Maiden Way on his estates north of Bewcastle. Lord Carlisle has also given us great help by very kindly allowing the writer to examine and take some notes of his estate-maps preserved at Naworth. These maps are of various dates, from 1603 onwards, and, as the references below will show, are of importance to the student of Roman Cumberland. The Committee which initiated the excavations and conducted the necessary preliminary correspondence consisted, as before, of Chancellor Ferguson and Mr. Hesketh Hodgson. All the work was done under supervision, and the sections were surveyed and drawn by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, for whose skilful and unwearied aid the

the Society is for a third time deeply indebted. A statement of expenditure will be found at the end of the report.

In 1897 it is proposed to examine several points of interest in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald and Gilsland. It may be possible to make some trial of the "camps" at Hawkhirst near Brampton, and Watchclose near Crosby, to which the earlier writers on the Wall attached great importance.

I.—THE VALLUM AT BIRDOSWALD AND CARRAWBROUGH.

The idea underlying our examination of the Vallum was as follows:—Two forts on the Wall, Birdoswald, and Carrawbrough,* lie directly and visibly in the path of the Vallum. They do not come into contact with the earthwork because both its mounds and its ditch vanish in their vicinity, but they are so placed that a prolongation of the existing Vallum would cross their ramparts. We proposed to ascertain by excavation whether the Vallum once actually ran across the site of these forts and had been filled in before they were built, or whether it avoided them by stopping or deviating. It was plain that the first alternative would prove the forts to be later than the Vallum, while the second would prove them to be earlier or coeval. The task we set ourselves was difficult: we had to search in the subsoil for disturbed earth and other traces of a ditch of which the surface gave no sign; heavy digging was inevitable and the possibilities of error serious.

(i.) We commenced at Birdoswald (Amboglanna) on the west side of the fort. The line of the Vallum is here quite plain at a little distance, but near the fort it is invisible, and its disappearance has been made more complete by a landslip. We were able, however, to find and follow the buried ditch, which was easily distinguished from the undisturbed subsoil by its filling of disturbed earth, fragments

* Some other forts east of Carrawbrough are perhaps similarly situated, but, to judge by the maps, the point is very doubtful. See Appendix I.

of pottery, &c., and, in general, a bottom of black peaty matter. This ditch was found to have been constructed in a straight line with the general course of the Vallum until within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort. At this point it swerves suddenly and sharply to the south-east, passes so close to the south-west corner of the fort that it runs into the ditch of the fort and then makes a sweep round the south face of the fort (see the annexed plan). Its farther course may be perhaps examined in 1897. Its width on the south of the fort, so far as we could judge, hardly seemed to exceed 10 feet near the bottom. There were indications that it had been intentionally filled in at some early period, for the black peaty matter at the bottom resembles that found where an open drain has been filled up, and some large stones were found near the surface in most trenches which may have been used to consolidate the filling. The ditch of the fort, as far as examined, contained neither black matter nor stones, and may have silted up gradually. No trace of the Vallum mounds was noted : at some points, indeed, there was not room for them ever to have existed, so that we may suppose them not to have been thrown up near the fort. This absence of the Vallum mounds will be noted again at Carrawbrough, and is an additional argument (*inter alia*) for the non-military character of the work. If the work had a defensive value, the ramparts could hardly be omitted.

These excavations were superintended by Professor Pelham, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Hodgson, and myself.

(ii.) The deviation of the Vallum at Birdoswald suggested the propriety of excavations at Carrawbrough (Procolitia) which also stands directly in the path of the Vallum. These were made with the permission of Mr. J. B. Clayton, of the Chesters, and of the farmer, Mr. Gibson, by Professor Pelham and myself, and though not part of the Cumberland Excavation Committee's work, may be conveniently described

Plan of Birdoswald

(from the Ordnance Survey)

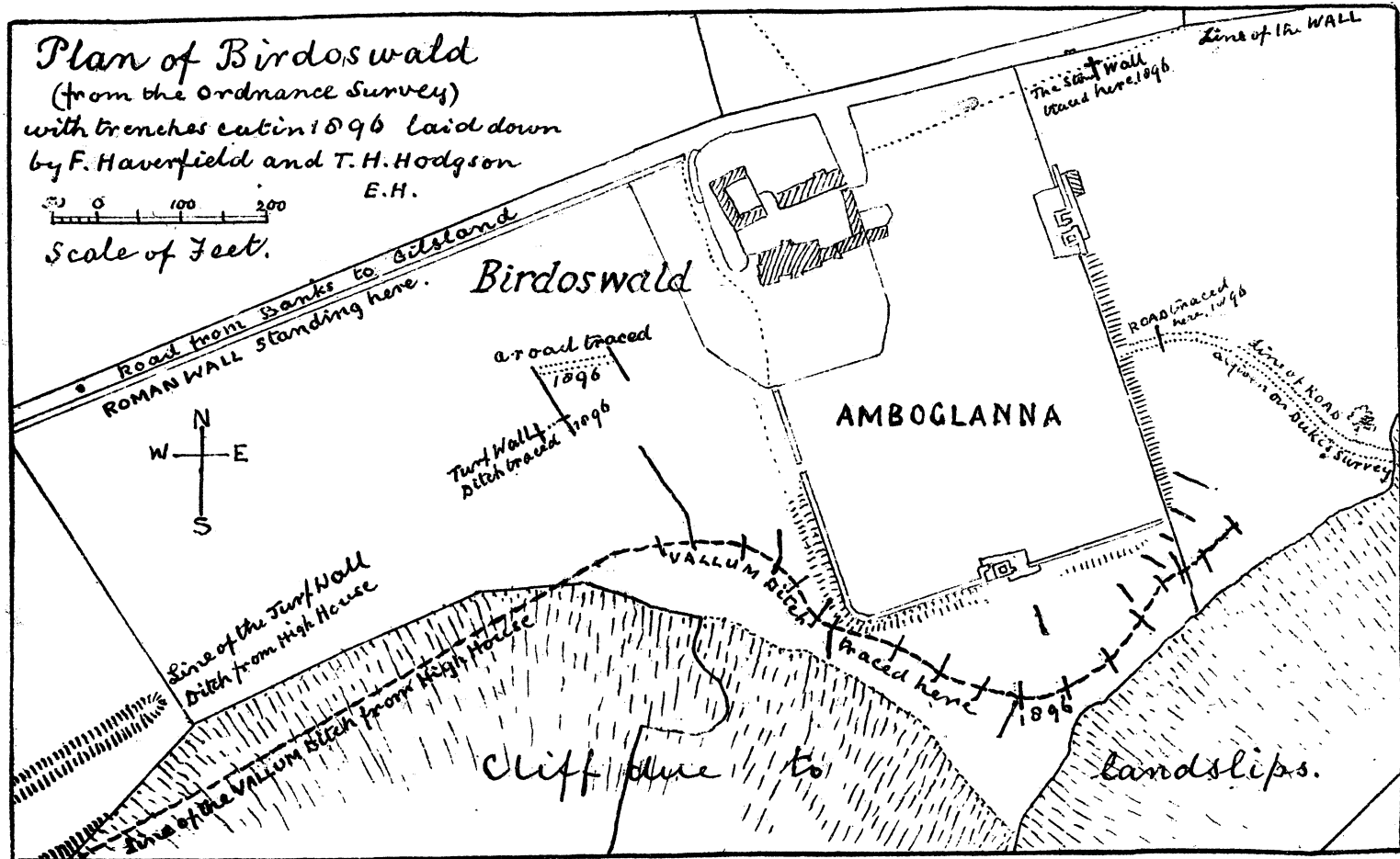
with trenches cut in 1896 laid down
by F. Haverfield and T. H. Hodgson

E.H.

Scale of Feet.

0 100 200

Scale of Feet.

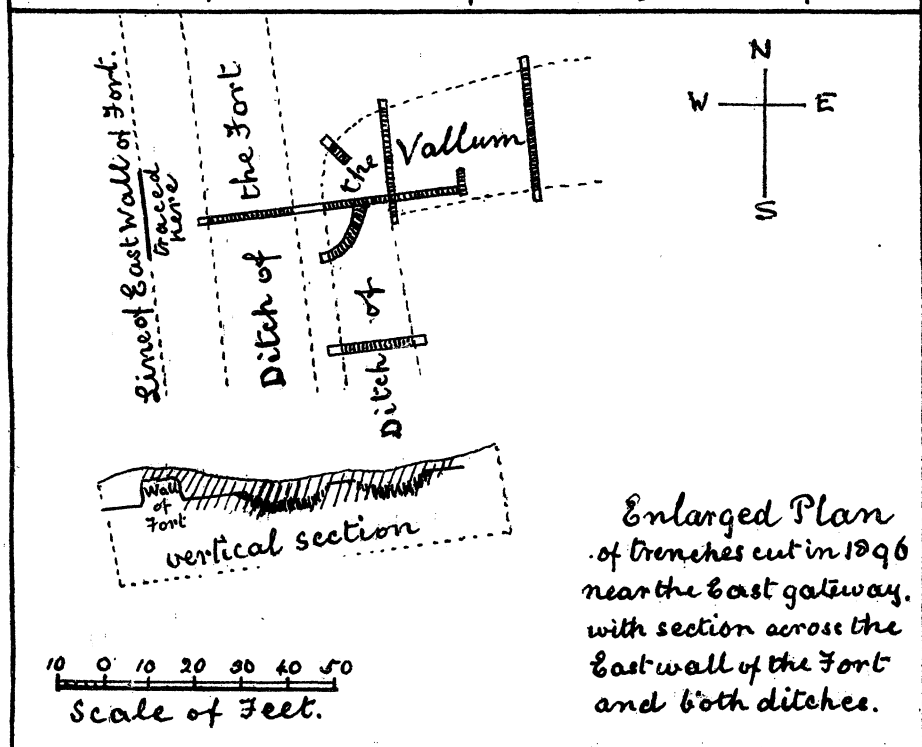
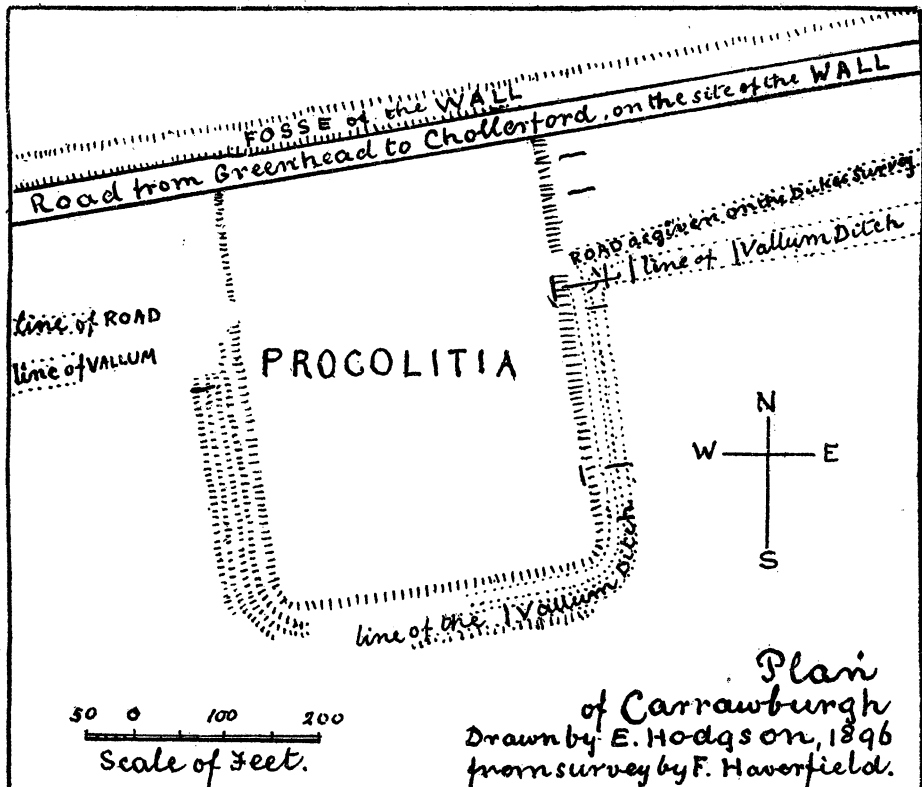


described here.* At Carrawbrough the mounds and ditch of the Vallum are clearly visible on the moor east and west of the fort; if their course were continued in the natural straight line, they would run through the fort, but they are not discernible in its near neighbourhood. Our trenches shewed that on the east side the ditch runs on in a straight line towards the fort till within 40 feet from it, as at Birdoswald: it is unaccompanied by the mounds. At 85 feet from the rampart it is a broad ditch, once, perhaps, 28-30 feet across at the top, and therefore of the size of the Vallum ditch: the filling was found to be disturbed earth containing some large stones, with a bottom of black peaty matter in which were bits of Roman pottery, bone, and sewed leather (now in the Chesters museum) to a depth of at least six feet. About 60 feet from the rampart the black matter ceased to be visible: at 54 feet the large stones ceased, at 40 feet the ditch stopped. Instead, a ditch, about 15 feet wide at top, was found to run southward parallel to the rampart and to the ditch of the fort, from which it was separated by a bank of undisturbed soil some five feet wide at the top. This ditch was not discoverable in the space between the Vallum ditch and the Wall, but was traced on the south side of the fort and probably on the west side, where the surface itself suggests double ditches, and a trench shewed four feet of rubbish, and made matter in the outer of the two ditches. On the east and south sides this outer ditch was found to be full of grey earth, easily distinguishable from the undisturbed soil around, but free from large stones and black matter: the ditch of the fort was of the same character. It is possible that, as at Birdoswald, the Vallum ditch was intentionally filled up, while the ditches round the fort were only filled up gradually and naturally. It has, however,

* An account was read to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at its meeting on September 30th. See its *Proceedings*, Vol. vii., pp. 283-286.

been doubted whether the outer ditch is the Vallum ditch turned, for once, to some practical use, or whether the fort had a double ditch round it like many of the forts on the German *Limes*, and in other parts of the Roman Empire. As the outer ditch of Carrawbrough does not run right round the fort, but only begins where the Vallum ceases its westerly direction, it is natural to suppose it a continuation. This supposition best explains the difference in the contents of the two ditches: the one which was found inconvenient was filled in (it may be) by the Romans, the other, which gave strength to the fort, was left open and filled up gradually like the inner ditch round the fort. Before deciding the point, however, it is desirable to ascertain what is as yet unknown—whether the forts on the Wall had usually a single or a double ditch. Maclauchlan thought he detected traces of the latter at Aesica, but excavation alone can settle the question. In any case, it is plain that the Vallum does not pass through the fort. It either deviates to encircle it (as I think), or it stops entirely, and on either supposition it is plain that it cannot be earlier in date than the Fort.

It remains to draw conclusions. First, it seems now to be certain that the Vallum is not earlier in date than the forts at Birdoswald and Carrawbrough, and as no reason exists for considering these forts to be earlier (or, for that matter, later) than most of the forts on the Wall, we may conclude that the Vallum is not earlier than these forts; it is coeval or later. We may overlook the idea that it is later, for that, in the present state of our knowledge, does not commend itself, and may consider the results deducible from the other alternative, that it is coeval. In this case, two theories and two only are tenable as to its date: either (1) forts and Vallum may be older than the Wall, or (2) forts, Vallum, and Wall may be coeval. There are, I think, two arguments which tell in favour of the latter possibility



possibility. In the first place, as I have shewn elsewhere,* the mural inscriptions make it extremely probable that the Wall, its forts, and its milecastles are in the main, if not wholly, the work of Hadrian, that is, that (so far as our present purpose is concerned) the forts and the Wall are coeval. A second argument points the same way. It may be observed that throughout its course the Vallum and forts seem to stand in no definite relation. At Birdoswald the Vallum sweeps round the south of the fort, at Carraw-brough it seems to form an outer ditch for it; at Carvoran and Castlesteads it runs north of it; at Housesteads and Great Chesters it is some distance to the south. On the other hand, Wall and Vallum do stand in a certain relation: the Vallum, whatever its vagaries, is at anyrate so built as always to have a space between it and the Wall: it was erected to serve some definite purpose in connection with the Wall, and that gives a presumption that it was erected at the same time as the Wall. It is perhaps useless as yet to enquire why it was erected. Hodgson, and after him Bruce, held that it was a military defence for the rear of the Wall. More recently I have pointed out that it does not resemble a military work, and high military authorities like General von Sarwey and Sir William Crossman agree in denying it a military character. Our excavations suggest the same conclusion, indicating that the important feature is the ditch which is continuous, not the ramparts which are interrupted. We must, then, look on it rather as a "civil" work, perhaps one side of a *Limes* of which the Wall is the other (as Mommsen suggests), perhaps some other form of frontier-mark most probably coeval with—conceivably, later than—the Wall. This result is not, it is true, very definite, but it is much nearer a definite

* *Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries*, xiv. (1892) 44-55. The evidence is more conclusive with respect to the milecastles than the forts, but Hadrianic inscriptions occur at Chesterholm and Greatchesters. The coins found in the forts seem to testify generally to an occupation in the time of Hadrian.

conclusion than we have before been able to go. Whatever else we have done this summer, we have demolished some, at least, of those theories which flourish so luxuriantly upon the Vallum, and we have limited the area within which such theories may in future expand.

II.—THE MAIDEN WAY TO BEWCASTLE AND BEYOND.

Maiden Way is the name given by archæologists to the Roman road, or rather to the two Roman roads, which run from Kirkby Thore past Whitley castle to Carvoran, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond.* The portion examined this summer was that north of Birdoswald, which was traced in detail by the Rev. John Maughan, vicar of Bewcastle, some forty years ago, and described by him in the eleventh volume of the *Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute*, and on his authority, as the Director informs me, laid down on the Ordnance Survey. It seemed very desirable to test Mr. Maughan's conclusions.

1. Birdoswald to Bewcastle. The course of the road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle is in general unmistakable, and has been correctly laid down by Mr. Maughan and the Ordnance surveyors. Three points are open to doubt. (i.) For the first half-mile north of Birdoswald the road has vanished in soft ground: it was apparently invisible in Mr. Maughan's time, and certainly could not be found by us. (ii.) The exact point where it crosses Kingwater cannot be traced; perhaps it was a few yards higher up than the ford (sometimes called Slittery or Slidry) where the Ordnance Map lays it down. (iii.) The approach to Bewcastle from the top of the fell near High-house, a distance of a mile and a half, cannot be traced: it possibly

* For the proper use and history of the name Maiden Way, see Appendix. By Bewcastle, I mean the castle of that name which stands on the site of the Roman fort: the name has of late years been used also to denote the *parish* of Bewcastle.

coincided in part with the modern road from Askerton to Bewcastle, but our efforts to trace it by spade or otherwise were in vain. The three best preserved pieces of the road are on Waterhead fell, near Highstead Ash, and on the fell east of Gillalees Beacon. Sections made near Highstead Ash and in Spadeadam* plantation shewed that the road was what we found it to be last year (Report 1895, p. 196), about $16\frac{1}{2}$ -17 feet wide, edged with large roughly squared kerbstones, and constructed of large and small cobbles and freestones laid on the natural subsoil. Its Roman origin seemed beyond question: for the most part it has probably never been touched since Roman days.

2. North of Bewcastle. The line of the road north of Bewcastle has been laid down by Mr. Maughan in detail, but our enquiries led us to disbelieve totally in this part of his conclusions. We carefully examined the whole ground from High House (see above) to the Cross, near Kettle Hall; trenched at suitable places, and asked for local information. We found no sign of any continuous track, and nothing like a Roman roadway, and we could not discover that any of the natives of the parish had ever seen such a thing, though they were familiar with the road south of Bewcastle. Mr. Maughan himself practically admits that he had found no real trace of the road north of Bewcastle, though this did not hinder him from laying down its precise course. The conclusions which we drew were (1) that the line of road laid down by Mr. Maughan is fictitious, and (2) that there is no reason to believe that any Roman road proceeded north from Bewcastle. The second conclusion may be strengthened by a reference to recent exploration in Scotland. The theory of the road north of Bewcastle formerly, was that it joined the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and thus led to Roman sites

* I am unable to explain this odd name, which appears in the same shape in seventeenth century maps. There are some places in the south and east of Scotland, *e.g.*, Blairadam in Kinross, which shew the same suffix.

further

further north. Dr. James Macdonald has lately examined the Wheel Causeway and finds that it is not Roman.*

The examination of the Maiden Way was made mainly by Mr. Booker and myself, partly also by Prof. Pelham and Dr. James Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot.

III.—A SUPPOSED CONTINUATION OF STANEGATE.

Stanegate is a Roman road in Northumberland which runs south of the Vallum from Carvoran through Chesterholm to a point near the meeting of the North and the South Tyne, and which probably (though it is no longer traceable) extended as far as the Roman fort at Corbridge or that at Chesters.† It forms a short and easy means of communication between the eastern and western parts of the mural region, and unites the Watling Street at Corbridge with the Maiden Way at Carvoran. Since the time of Horsley it has been supposed that this road was continued into Cumberland. Horsley himself thought that it ran more probably from Castlesteads than Carvoran, and formed only a straight cut from Castlesteads by Irthington and the Watchclose "camp" to Stanwix (*Britannia* p. 144). Others have traced it from Carvoran to Gilsland, Denton, Naworth Park, the Roman "camp" at Hawkhirst, Watchclose, and so into Carlisle. Many portions of this supposed road are marked on the Ordnance maps, on what authority I have not been able to ascertain.

The following portions of this road were examined by

* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxix. 323-328. See further in the Appendix to this Report.

† See Horsley's *Britannia*, p. 144; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part 2, iii, p. 288, 411; Maclauchlan's Survey, pp. 30, 47, 50. A milestone found on the Stanegate at Crindledykes, near Chesterholm, contains the mileage MP XIII (Ephem. Epigraphica, vii, No. 1108). The spot where this stone was found is just fourteen Roman miles from the site of the Roman fort at Corbridge, and, as no other Roman site suits the mileage so well, we may perhaps incline to the view that the Stanegate went to Corstopitum. Hodgson thought that from Corbridge it went to Newcastle by the 'Ald-he-way.'

excavation : (1) Gilsland.* With the assistance of the Rev. A. Wright, I examined an old "road" which crossed the Gilsland school playground from north-east to south-west. This playground was once a peat-moss : the "road" across it consists of a layer of large freestones, cobble and gravel, about 12 feet wide, the larger stones being generally on the outside or in the middle. The whole was quite roughly made, and though possibly, was not at all certainly, Roman work. At the north-west angle of the playground the road seems to turn west and after running parallel to the modern road for a little, to run into it : here it is on firmer ground and its construction is less solid, its stones much smaller, and the whole unlike Roman work. Further excavations are needed at this spot. There are traces of a (presumably) Roman bridge over the Poltross burn not far from the playground, and the roadway which crossed it deserves tracing.

(2) Denton. Trenches were dug by Prof. Pelham across the line of "Roman road," marked on the Ordnance Map, near Denton Mains. No traces of a roadway could be found. The Director of the Ordnance Survey tells me that the evidence on which this road was laid down on the Ordnance Maps, is in reality insufficient. It may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration. Further down the valley, near the Nook farm, there are traces of the old road towards Lanercost, which was in use in the last century and is marked on Warburton's map, but we could not find a suitable place for digging or any indications of a Roman road. The course of the road, as marked on the Ordnance Map, is extremely sinuous and un-Roman, and we may now take it to be fictitious. The only real reason for thinking that a Roman road ran in this locality is that some interesting Roman

* The Post Office, the Railway, and custom have given the name Gilsland to the village which has grown up on each side of the Poltross, near the hillock once called Rosehill or Rosshill. Gilsland is properly the name of the Barony.

objects, bronze work, coins, and pottery, now in the Chesters Museum, were found in building the new vicarage of Nether Denton in 1868.* The coins, however, belong mainly to the reign of Trajan, some to the reigns of his immediate predecessors, and their dates shew that the site was occupied for a short time only, either just before or while Hadrian built his Wall. We must not, therefore, argue from the remains to the road.

(3) Naworth Park. Sections were dug by myself in two places in Naworth West Park. (a) At Pavement Head, on the road between the Castle and the Quarrybeck Lodge, a small piece of roadway was found about 80 yards west of the six trees on the hill-top and close to the side of the existing road. It was a mere fragment $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by 20 feet long, consisting of one layer of large cobbles and freestones packed tightly together. It bears a vague resemblance to Roman work, and might possibly be a piece which escaped the plough when the West Park was under cultivation. It stands, however, quite alone, and as the road is an old one, old enough to appear in the Estate maps of 1603, the "paving" which I found may well be old without being Roman.

(b) A roadway from the Lanercost road eastwards to the stone bridge over the Castle beck and through the woods into the East Park has been thought to be Roman. It proved to be a modern road, 12 feet wide, made of small bits of freestone, and solidly constructed in a modern manner.

(4) Buckjumping is a cutting 170 feet long through a ridge of sand in a field called Dyke Nook, west of Irthington. At present it is 13 feet wide at the bottom and 20 feet deep, but Mr. R. G. Graham of Beanlands, the owner of the field, tells me that his father threw in

* See these *Transactions*, i., 88. Compare the Lanercost urn, xiv, 195.

some of the earth at the top and reduced its depth. It has obviously been made by a road which has sunk into the soft sand. This roadway was carried over the ridge and not round it, probably, as Mr. Graham suggests, to avoid a small bog which until very recently barred the otherwise easy detour. The name is connected with the ancient deer forest of Brampton, on the edge of which it was, and there is a story that a buck once jumped it, but Chancellor Ferguson suggests that it may be one of the places common on the edge of deer parks, where wild deer may be driven in but cannot get out.* We found, below 4 feet of disturbed soil—obviously that thrown in by the late Mr. Graham—a roadway of small cobbles and river-gravel, at least 12 feet wide, constructed exactly like many local roads and containing a few stones broken by the hammer: beneath were at least 2 feet of apparently undisturbed sand. No trace was found of any Roman road.

(5) In Watchclose plantation the course of the supposed road may be traced easily. We trenched in several places and found everywhere a modern road. The “agger” visible on the surface was about 27 feet wide, and the thicker part of the road (cobble and river-gravel) 24 feet wide, but the stones had spread out to a width of 45 feet. Some of them were hammer-broken, and the whole resembled many local roads: below was undisturbed soil.

The excavations at Watchclose and Buckjumping were superintended by Mr. Booker and myself.

It is plain that both the Watchclose and the Buckjumping road are parts of the old road from Crosby to Irthington and Brampton, which was in use in the time of Horsley (1732) and Warburton (1753). According to

* A *buck stall* or deer trap, which is defined as a toil to take deer, which by the Stat. 19 Hen. c. 11, is not to be kept by any person that hath not a park of his own: *Jacob's Law Dictionary*. See for one, these *Transactions*, Vol. x. p. 287, n. *sub voce* Shap Abbey.

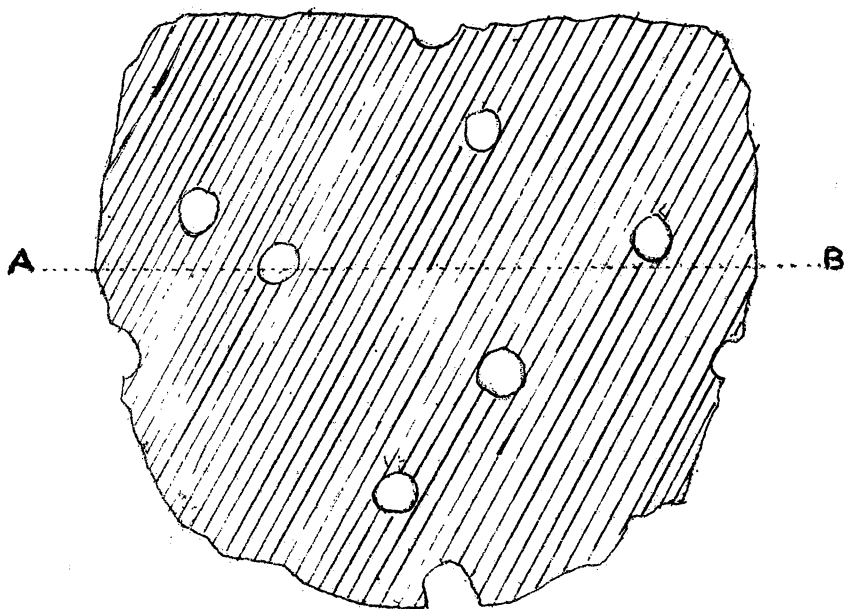
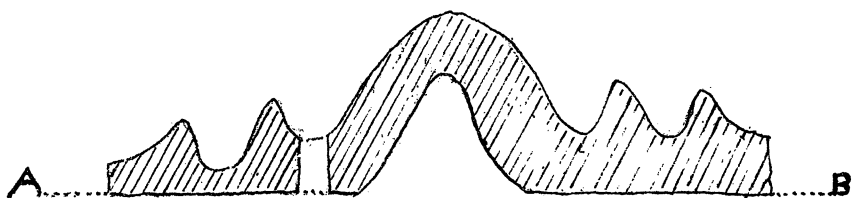
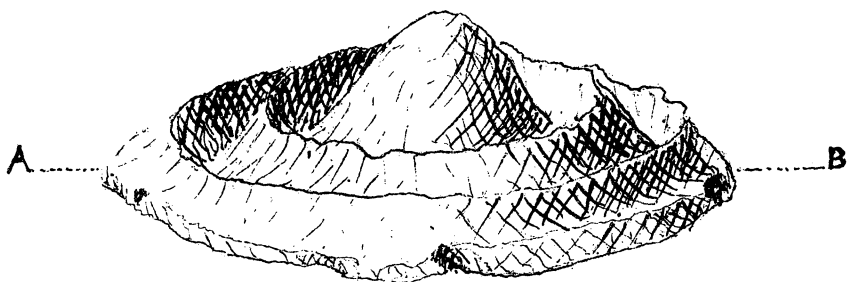
local memory, that of Mr. J. Lightfoot of Watchclose, this road was closed about 80 or 100 years ago, and this agrees with the fact that it is marked by Warburton in 1753 but is not marked on Lord Carlisle's maps of 1772, nor on Donald's map of 1770-1. Horsley says that the natives in his day thought that a Roman road had once run along the line of this road, and this led him to suggest that a Roman road connected Castlesteads with Stanwix in a straight line. There is nothing impossible in the idea, but there is certainly no known trace of such a road.

The general conclusion to which we came was that no evidence exists at present to prove that any Roman road ran through Cumberland just south of the Vallum. Our search included almost all the places where such a road has been alleged, and no place yielded any definitely Roman paving.

IV.—THE TURF WALL.

Search was made for the Turf Wall at Birdoswald (see Plan) by Prof. Pelham and Mr. Hodgson. It was traced by its ditch to within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort, and the point where the mural road crossed it to reach the west gate was probably discovered, though the evidence as to this was not quite conclusive. The ditch was distinguishable by its "disturbed" earth and by Roman pottery, &c., in it. Among the objects found was a so-called "strainer," found on the berm of the ditch (see Illustration). Similar "strainers" have been found elsewhere: there are specimens in the museums at Chesters and Aldborough (Yorkshire),* and one from Northamptonshire was exhibited to the London Society of Antiquaries in 1892 *Proceedings* (xiv., pp. 172-3, with illustration). Mr. C. H. Read tells me that such objects are not common, but that he has seen one or two in the Rhine valley.

* Figured inaccurately in H. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* (plate xxviii, 9), where it is oddly said to be "a lamp of a very unusual form."



"Strainer", from the beam of the Turf Wall, Bindeswald.
 (sketch, section, and plan)
 E. Hodgson, 1896.

Various suggestions have been made as to their purpose : the one which finds most favour with competent judges is that they were small cheese presses.

The east side of the fort was also trenched, but the results were inconclusive : possibly we shall be able to work them to a definite issue in 1897.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Booker also trenched across some broken ground at Walldub, near Lanercost, which had been thought likely to contain traces of the Turf Wall, if such wall is not confined to Appletree. Very little digging was needed to shew that the excrescences in question concealed no turves, and were modern upcast.

APPENDIX I. THE VALLUM.

In this Appendix I propose to deal with two points which do not come within the scope of last summer's excavations, but deserve the attention of the readers of this Report. The two points may be indicated by two questions (i) what is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes ? and (ii) is it known to deviate elsewhere than at the two forts lately excavated ? I have the less hesitation in dealing with these two points here, because they both concern matters of fact, and matters of fact are just the things which mural antiquaries are apt to neglect.

(i.) What is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes ? It may be well to take the forts in order, commencing from the east :—

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| (1) Benwell. | } | At all these the position of the Vallum is uncertain, and is now ascertainable (if at all) only by digging. It is usually said to have run along the S. face of fort The Vallum forms a S. ditch (see p. 418).
V. is about 100 yards S : very faint.
350 yards S. |
| (2) Rutchester. | | |
| (3) Halton. | | |
| (4) Chesters. | | |
| (5) Carrawbrough. | | |
| (6) Housesteads. | | |
| (7) Greatchesters. | | |

(8) Carvoran

(8) Carvoran.	130-250 yards N. (See below).
(9) Chesterholm.	1000 yards N.
(10) Birdoswald.	Close to S. face.
(11) Castlesteads.	110 yards to N: faint.
(12) Stanwix.	Probably S: doubtful.
(13) Burgh-upon-Sands.	Doubtful.

Two inferences may be drawn from this list. In the first place, as I have said (p. 419), the Vallum is in no special relation to the forts: its object, whatever it was, must have had no connection with them. In the second place, it appears true to say that the Vallum vanishes whenever it actually approaches a fort. This is certainly the case at Carrawbrough and Birdoswald, and it may therefore be more than a mere accident that we find it to be faint or doubtful in other cases where its natural line would take it close to a fort. Further excavation, however, would enable us to judge better of this point.

(ii.) Does the Vallum deviate markedly from the straight line elsewhere than at the two points lately excavated?

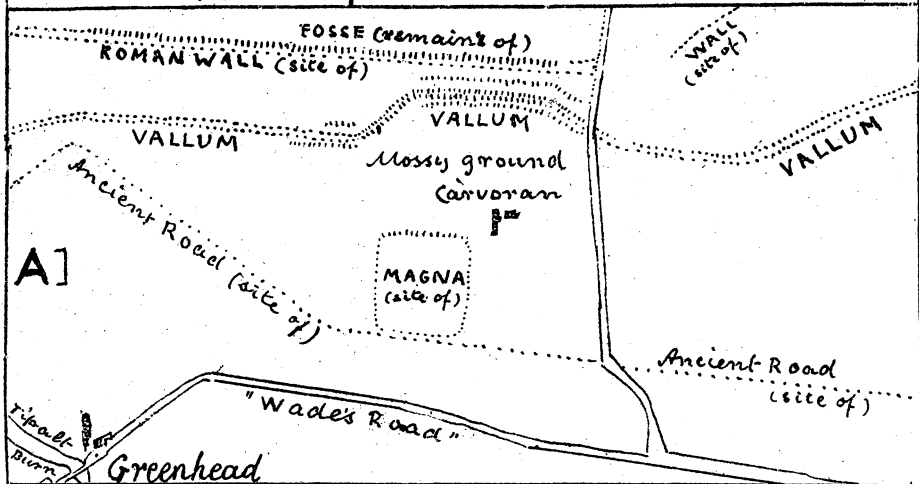
So far as the course of the Vallum is certain, there seem to be only three points where it shews marked and signal deviation from the natural directness of its line. These points (see Plate IV.) are (A) in front of the fort of Carvoran, (B) near Bradley and Highshield, north of Chesterholm, and (C) on Down Hill, east of Halton Chesters. In the first case the bend is apparently due to the presence of soft ground, as Dr. Bruce suggests: it can hardly be due to any attempt to avoid the fort at Carvoran. In the second case the occurrence of soft ground is an obvious and sufficient reason, while at Down Hill the Vallum sweeps round the south side of a small hill which the Wall surmounts. All these cases, therefore, seem to be the result of local peculiarities: they throw no light on the deviations of the Vallum which we discovered this year.

APPENDIX II. THE NAME "MAIDEN WAY."

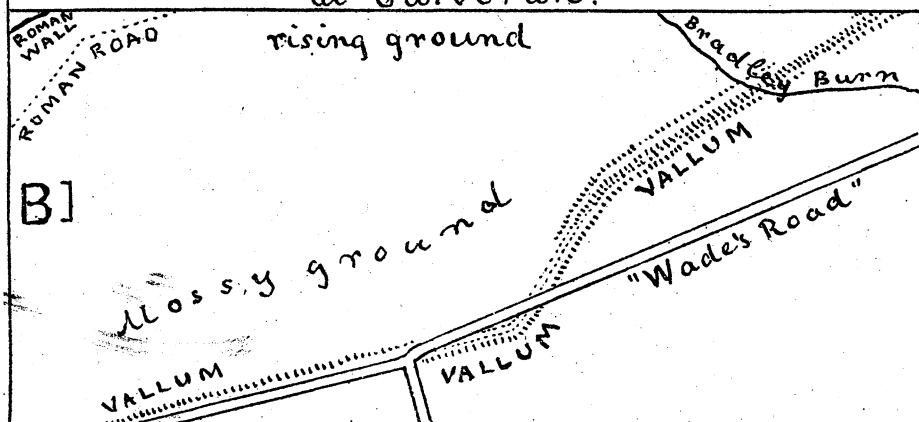
"Maiden Way" is the name now given by archæologists to the road, or rather the two roads, running from Kirkby Thore past Whitely Castle to Carvoran on the Wall, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, or beyond. In the following paragraphs I wish to consider the antiquity and proper use of this name: the conclusion to which I shall come is that the name is a very ancient appellation of the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran, but that its use north of the Wall is less established, and may be a comparatively modern invention of an antiquary.

With

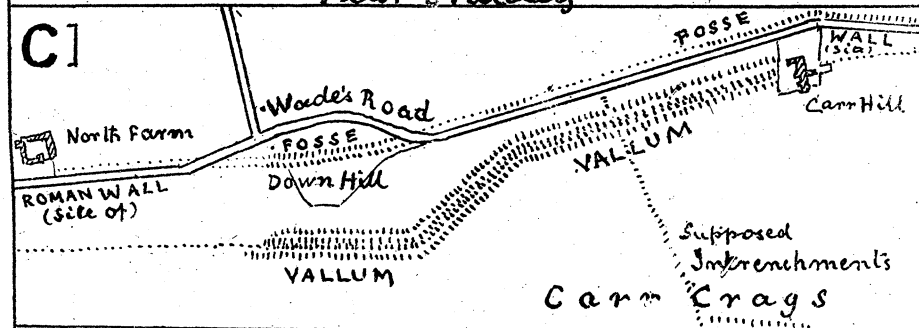
Lines of the Vallum.



at Carvoran.



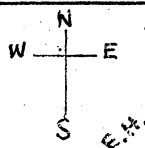
near Bradley



at Down Hill

From the Ordnance Survey Maps.

Scale 10ch 5 0 10 20 chains
1/8 m. 0 1/8 1/4 mile



With respect to the derivation of the word, certainty seems unattainable. All the best authorities agree that the current etymology "mai-dun," the high ridge, is absolutely impossible, but they cannot suggest an etymology in its place. The word "Maiden" is no doubt the same as the first half of Maiden Castle (Dorset, &c.), Maiden Bower (Beds.), Maiden Cross, and similar names,* and it is noteworthy that the actual combination Maiden Way is, or was, in use for an old road in Aberdeenshire (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i., 149). The geographical area over which the prefix "Maiden" occurs, suggests that it is probably Teutonic, not Celtic, and it is possible that it may embody some early English folk-lore about the miraculous works or some maiden. In other words, it may resemble the French "Chaussée de Brunehaut," or the Welsh "Sarn Helen," though it does not specify the particular maiden meant.† This explanation would suit the general sense required by the various uses of the term, which have their common element not so much in the ideas of height and strength as in that of antiquity. Nothing is commoner in early place-names than to find antiquity denoted by reference to some pre-historic or semi-historic agency which is renowned in folk-lore. This explanation of the name cannot, however, be considered as more than a guess, which has, perhaps, the advantage (enjoyed by no previous guess) of not openly violating the laws of philology and the requirements of the problem.‡

I pass on to the use of the name. 1. For the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran all is clear. As "Maydengate" the way figures as a boundary in thirteenth century charters quoted by Hodgson, and by Nicolson and Burn, and according to Mr. Bainbridge, who surveyed it about 1846, it is also styled "Maydenway" and "Via puellarum" in similar documents.§ Under the title Maiden Way, it is known to Camden (circa 1600), Roger Gale (1709), Horsley (1732), and most competent writers. The evidence both for the road and for the antiquity of its name is entirely adequate.

* Probably we should compare such places as Maiden Well (Linc.), Maidwell (Northants), Maidenhead (Berks), Maid's Moreton (Bucks), Maiden Bradley (Wilts), Maiden Newton (Dorset). Maiden Castle recurs near Bowes, in Durham, and near Aberdeen, and is said to have been a name of Edinburgh. Maiden Bower recurs in Oxfordshire and Durham. Maidstone (Kent) has a different derivation, as the oldest forms of the name shew.

† M. Reinach quotes in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxi (1893) 211, some examples of the name applied to pre-historic stone monuments in France and Spain; thus a Dolmen in Brittany is "table de la vierge."

‡ I have consulted Prof. Rhys, Prof. Napier, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson on this point.

§ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part II. iii. 89, 93; Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, i. 377; *Archæologia Aeliana* (old series) iv. 36-50.

2. The connection of the road from Carvoran to Birdoswald presents great difficulties. At Carvoran the Maiden Way meets the Stanegate coming from the east, and, according to Maclauchlan, the two roads continue together to Birdoswald. The traces of the road are, however, extremely doubtful, and the name Maiden Way seems to be unknown along its supposed line. The only Roman road which we have any present right to assume between Carvoran and Birdoswald is the Mural way which accompanies the Wall, and the exact course even of this has not been examined.

3. North of the Wall the question becomes more intricate. The account now generally received is that the Maiden Way, after continuing from Carvoran to Birdoswald, then passed over the fells to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond it. There can be no question that there is a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle (see above pp. 421), but it does not follow that this way has real claim to the title Maiden Way. Many good writers and maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give tacit evidence against it. Camden, Gale, two Cumberland correspondents of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1755, Nicolson and Burn in their "History of Cumberland" (1777), and Hutchinson in his "View of Northumberland" (1778), write as if they supposed the Maiden Way not to extend north of Carvoran. The Naworth estate maps of 1603, 1756, and 1772, Warburton's map of 1753, Donald and Hodskinson's maps of 1770-1, mark no Roman road or Maiden Way north of the Wall, and their testimony is significant, as they are independent and first-hand surveys. It seems as if the very existence of a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was unknown till this century. It first appears on a Naworth estate map made in 1828-30 by a Mr. Bowman. There it is indicated for a length of about 10 chains on the fell east of Gillalees Beacon, at a point where it is still visible, close to a ruined tower which Mr. Bowman calls Robin Hood's Butt; it is indicated by dotted lines, to distinguish it from ordinary roads, and is called Maiden Way. The next references to the road are contained in Hodgson's "Northumberland" (II, iii, 296, 1840), and in Maughan's description of it in the *Archæological Journal* (xi. 1854), which latter is the first complete account of it.* I have argued above that Maughan's theory of a road north of Bewcastle is wrong; it is fair to add here that our accurate knowledge of a road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle began with him. Whence Bowman, Hodgson, and Maughan got the name Maiden Way will be

* Hodgson visited Bewcastle about 1839: Maughan was then vicar of the parish, and it is not surprising that their views of the Maiden Way agree.

considered

considered below (p. 432): one point is clear, that it was not used for this roadway, so far as we know, before 1830.

So far our evidence is clear and consistent. There is, unfortunately, another body of evidence which is in conflict with it. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century a theory has been current among antiquaries that the Maiden Way ran due north by Haltwhistle or by Carvoran, across the Wall and along the eastern portion of Cumberland into Scotland. The precise course assigned to this "Maiden Way" varies in various writers. The earlier ones lay down a line considerably east of Bewcastle, which indeed was not recognised as a Roman site till Horsley. Thus Stukeley, in the first edition of his "Itinerarium" (1724) assumes that a road ran from Carvoran to join the Scots Dike (now called the Black Dyke) which he and others of his time took to be a Roman road. A little later Alexander Gordon in his "Itinerarium Septentrionale" (1727) published a map on which the Maiden Way is traced through Haltwhistle and along the east edge of Cumberland to join the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and the same scheme of roads appears on a map of Northumberland, Speed's, re-edited by Henry Overton, which might be earlier in date than 1727.* Shortly afterwards, Horsley in his *Britannia* (1732), seems to modify this view. He knew Gordon's work, but he had also discovered the Roman fort at Bewcastle, and observes (pp. 114, 151.) that the Maiden Way, "as is said," went to Bewcastle from Carvoran: he does not, however, profess to have seen it, though he visited Bewcastle, Carvoran, and Birdoswald. Stukeley in his second edition (1776) talks of the road as crossing the Wall at Thirlwall, which name, he says (by a perversion of the ordinary legend) "retains a memory of the gate here." Hutchinson, in his "History of Cumberland" (I. 63, 95,) and William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, writing in Lyson's "Cumberland" (1816, pp. cxxx, cxxxv,) agree roughly with Horsley or Gordon, but are both clearly writing at second-hand. Maps of Kitchin (1750), Cay (1753), Warburton (Northumberland, 1762), and Knox (1784), shew that these ideas of the Maiden Way had got into common circulation, though they cannot count as independent authorities.

* Henry Overton's chronology seems imperfectly known, but he belongs certainly to the period 1660-1740. His maps of Derbyshire and Lincolnshire are dated 1712: the map of Northumberland referred to above contains the coat of arms of "George Fitzroy E. third son of the Duchess of Sutherland," and, if this be taken strictly, the map must belong to the years 1674-1683, as Fitzroy became Earl of N. in 1674 and Duke in 1683. Unfortunately such coats of arms cannot be implicitly relied upon in dating maps. It is curious that Speed's and Overton's *Cumberland* (n. d.) has no Maiden Way on it. From internal evidence I should date the map of Northumberland after 1727.

The question remains how we should interpret this evidence. It is not good evidence, being mostly if not entirely second-hand, and probably derived from one source. Two alternatives present themselves. Either (1) our evidence represents some very inaccurate rumour of the Bewcastle road current in the early seventeenth century. Or else (2) antiquaries prolonged the Maiden Way from Carvoran into Scotland merely in order to provide a Roman road through Cumberland to Roxburghshire and the Wheel Causeway.* The second alternative is quite in keeping with that general readiness to invent which characterised many of our seventeenth and eighteenth century antiquaries, and it appears to me to be the more probable. In any case this view, that the Maiden Way ran along the east edge of Cumberland, may be held responsible for a curious, and, at first sight, puzzling detail in Mr. Maughan's theory of the road. Mr. Maughan takes his road not to the fort at Bewcastle but a mile or so to the east of it: it is probable that this was suggested to him by the accounts of the Maiden Way which were alone accessible to him, most of which laid down the road some distance east of Bewcastle.

It remains to notice the reference to the Maiden Way in Sir Walter Scott's novel, "Guy Mannering," (chapter xiii.), which is often taken as evidence for the existence of the road at the beginning of this century. A careful reading of the passage will, I am sure, convince any reader that Scott is, on the contrary, writing without personal knowledge. He takes his hero from Gilsland past Birdoswald, apparently, and yet does not allow him and Dandie Dinmont to get on to the Maiden Way till close to Liddesdale. Scott is known to have been well acquainted with Gordon's "Itinerarium," and I think that his reference to the Maiden Way has every appearance of being borrowed from that writer's map.

In conclusion, it may be worth while to enquire how Bowman, Hodgson, and Maughan came to call the road between Bewcastle and Birdoswald, so far as they knew it, the Maiden Way (p. 430). No earlier writer does so, and the name cannot therefore be taken as a piece of local tradition. It is more likely that the name was derived from some of the sources noted above, either from Scott's novel or

* The Wheel Causeway itself is no less puzzling than the Maiden Way. Dr. Macdonald, who has investigated the matter, tells me that the name Wheel Causeway appears first in Gordon's "Itinerarium," that the name is now locally unknown (though there is a Wheel Kirk near), and that the printed references to the name seem based on Gordon. In other words, it is possible that Gordon invented the name to describe the old track-way which undoubtedly exists near the Wheel Kirk (see p. 422).

from Hutchinson and Bennet (p. 431). The notion that the road ran to the east of Bewcastle, which appears in Hodgson and Maughan, suggests that they, at anyrate, were influenced by their antiquarian predecessors.

EXPENDITURE, 1896.

	£	s.	d.
Labour at Birdoswald ...	7	16	0
Compensation at Birdoswald ...	1	10	0
Labour on the Roman Roads...	2	0	0
Miscellaneous ...	0	5	0
	<hr/>		
	£11	11	0.
	<hr/>		

This expenditure was defrayed partly out of the £50 voted by this Society, partly by Oxford subscriptions, from which latter the expenses at Carrawbrough (not here included) were defrayed. The total expended in Cumberland during the three years, 1894-6, has been £112 os. 8d., of which the Oxford subscriptions have furnished £55 4s. 5d., and also £10 10s. od. towards the cost of illustrations for these Reports.
